

Message Text

PAGE 01 BRASIL 06049 01 OF 02 192040Z

73

ACTION ARA-20

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-07 H-03 INR-10 L-03

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FM AMEMBASSY BRASILIA

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 9703

UNCLAS SECTION 1 OF 2 BRASILIA 6049

E.O. 11652: N/A

TAGS: PINT PFOR PGOV

SUBJECT: ADDRESS OF PRESIDENT-DESIGNATE GEISEL,
SEPTEMBER 15, 1973

1. IN FIRST PUBLIC APPEARANCE SINCE HIS DESIGNATION AS SUCCESSOR TO PRESIDENT MEDICI, GENERAL ERNESTO GEISEL ADDRESSED NOMINATING CONVENTION OF GOVERNMENT'S ARENA (ALIANCA RENOVADORA NACIONAL) PARTY OF SEPTEMBER 15. SUMMARY OF SPEECH, WITH INFORMAL TRANSLATION PREPARED BY EMBASSY, FOLLOW.

2. AFTER INTRODUCTORY REMARKS, WHICH INCLUDED PRAISE FOR THE PERFORMANCE OF HIS PREDECESSORS AND A PLEDGE TO GOVERN WITHIN THE SPIRIT OF THE REVOLUTION, GEISEL ENTERED THE SUBSTANCE OF HIS ADDRESS.

QUOTE I AM NOT BRINGING TO YOU, AS OF NOW, A NEW PROGRAM OF GOVERNMENT, COMPLETE AND FINISHED, NOR EVEN AN OUTLINE OF ONE. IT WOULD BE UNSEEMLY AND PREMATURE TO DO SO, IT WOULD BE PRETENTIOUS IN THE SENSE OF ONE WHO BELIEVES HE KNOWS EVERYTHING AND CAN DO EVERYTHING. USUALLY, THE BEST INTENTIONS AND MOST ALTRUISTIC IMPULSES ARE RUINED BY THE PRETENSION.

A PROGRAM OF GOVERNMENT MUST BE OBJECTIVE AND WELL THROUGH OUT. IT DEMANDS A PROFOUND AND IMPARTIAL ANALYSIS OF FACT, A JUDICIOUS EVALUATION OF THE MANY THINGS THAT
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PAGE 02 BRASIL 06049 01 OF 02 192040Z

HAVE BEEN DONE AND THE MANY THINGS THAT STILL REMAIN TO BE DONE; IT INVOLVES CHOICE AMONG VALIF ALTERNATIVE OPTIONS, ESTABLISHMENT OF PRIORITIES, ESTABLISHMENT OF THE LIMITS OF RESOURCES AND THEIR ALLOCATION. IT IS THE RESULT OF

PLANNING, THE FRUIT OF EXACT STUDY, THE COLLECTIVE BUSINESS OF A TEAM, WHICH REQUIRES TIME AND ACCESS TO DETAILED, TRUSTWORTHY AND CURRENT INFORMATION. SUCH A PROGRAM, NEVERTHELESS, MUST DRAW ITS INSPIRATION ABOVE ALL FROM A PHILOSOPHY OF GOVERNMENT, OBEY A STRATEGY FOR NATIONAL DEVELOPMENT AND ADOPT CERTAIN METHODOLOGICAL PRINCIPLES AS A SURE GUIDE TO THE DECISION-MAKING PROCESS AND TO APPROPRIATE GOVERNMENT ACTION. THE FORMULA INNER QUOTE DEVELOPMENT AND SECURITY END INNER QUOTE ... CONSTITUTED THE ESSENTIAL DOCTRINE OF THE REVOLUTION OF 1964, AS HAS BEEN MANY TIMES REPEATED AND LONG EMPHASIZED. HOWEVER, THERE STILL EXIST DOUBTS AND MISUNDERSTANDINGS ABOUT THE CORRECT MEANING OF BOTH CONCEPTS AND ABOUT THE RELATION WHICH LINKS THEM SO CLOSELY. IN PARTICULAR, WHEN ONE GLIMPSES IN THAT ESSENTIALLY DIALECTICAL SLOGAN THE ABSURD IDEAL OF CONTINING THE ARMED FORCES TO THE STRICT AMBIT OF NATIONAL SECURITY- AS IF THIS WERE NOT ALSO THE RESPONSIBILITY OF ALL THE CIVILIAN POPULATION, AND AS IT MUCH OF WHAT HAS BEEN ACCOMPLISHED, AND WILL BE ACCOMPLISHED IN THE AMPLE FIELD OF NATIONAL DEVELOPMENT, WERE NOT DUE TO THE EFFORTS OF THE NAVY, ARMY AND AIR FORCE. NOR SHOULD WE FORGET THAT THEY DESERVE PROFOUND RECOGNITION, FOR BEING ABLE, DURING A DARK HOUR FOR THE NATION, TO ALTER WITHIN THEMSELVES, IN THEIR BASIC DISCIPLINARY AND HIERARCHICAL FORMATION, TO JOIN TOGETHER, REESTABLISH ORDER, RESCUE INSTITUTIONS AND CREATE THE POLITICAL AND SOCIAL CLIMATE IN WHICH THE PROGRESS OF OUR NATION THRIVES -- AND FOR HAVING, THROUGH PERSISTENT VIGILANCE AND SUBSEQUENT ARDUOUS EFFORT, PRESERVED THESE ACCOMPLISHMENTS AGAINST ALL SUBVERSIVE ATTACKS. IN TRUTH, NATIONAL SECURITY IS FAR FROM BEING LIMITED MERELY TO MILITARY SECURITY, CONFINED TO WEAPONRY. IN A FULLER SENSE, IT IS REALLY THE MORAL, SPIRITUAL AND MATERIAL CAPACITY OF A PEOPLE TO JOIN TOGETHER AGAINST THE ANTAGONISTIC FORCES WHICH BLOCK THEIR PATH TO DEVELOPMENT, WELL-BEING, AND GREATNESS. IT IS EVIDENT THAT, UNCLASSIFIED

PAGE 03 BRASIL 06049 01 OF 02 192040Z

WITHOUT SECURITY, THERE WILL BE NO MEANS TO PROMOTE DEVELOPMENT; BUT, ON THE OTHER HAND, IT IS ALSO EVIDENT THAT A CERTAIN DEGREE OF DEVELOPMENT IS ESSENTIAL TO NATIONAL SECURITY, WITHOUT THE LATTER HAVING TO BE GIVEN GREATER IMPORTANCE THAN THE FORMER. DEVELOPMENT IS UNARGUABLY MORE IMPORTANT, ESSENTIAL, WHILE SECURITY IS SIMPLY THE PREREQUISITE FOR IT--SECURITY CAN, HOWEVER, IN A MOMENT OF CRISIS, ASSUME A TRANSITORY POSITION OF PREDOMINANCE. THE EMPHASIS, THEREFORE, BELONGS TO NATIONAL DEVELOPMENT. DEVELOPMENT FOR MAN AND FOR HIS SOCIAL GROUP--FOR MAN IN HIS SYMBIOTIC SOCIAL CONTEXT, THE GROUP EXISTING, IN THE FINAL ANALYSIS, IN ORDER TO PROMOTE THE WELL-BEING OF THE INDIVIDUALS WHO COMPOSE IT AND BRING IT TO LIFE. UNDER

THE SLOGAN INNER QUOTE DEVELOPMENT AND SECURITY END INNER QUOTE ... THE DOCTRINE OF OUR REVOLUTION IS COMPLETED WITH A METHODOLOGY OF ACTION BASED ON INNER QUOTE AUSTERITY END INNER QUOTE AND INNER QUOTE HONESTY OF PURPOSE, END INNER QUOTE AND CHARACTERIZED BY INNER QUOTE RATIONALITY END INNER QUOTE THE REVOLUTIONARY AUTHORITIES WERE ABLE TO APPLY RATIONALISM TO THE MANAGEMENT OF PUBLIC AFFAIRS. AND UNDOUBTEDLY, THE MAJOR CONTRIBUTION OF THE REVOLUTION OF 1964 TO THE STYLE OF GOVERNMENT POLICY HAS BEEN THE USE OF ALL POSSIBLE APPLICATIONS OF RATIONALITY, IN DECISION-MAKING, IN METHODOLOGICAL PLANNING, IN THE EXECUTION AND CONTROL GOVERNMENT, WITHOUT EXCEPTION, PRIDE THEMSELVES ON THEIR USE OF TECHNOLOGY AND, TOGETHER WITH THE POLITICIAN--THE MAN ELECTED BY THE PEOPLE FOR HIS MERIT AND POWERS OF PERSUASION--ON THEIR USE OF THE TECHNICIAN--THE MAN CHOSEN BE THE MANAGER FOR HIS SPECIALIST'S KNOWLEDGE AND COMPETENCE.

WITHIN THIS ORDER OF IDEAS, I INTEND, IN FACT, TO FOLLOW THE BROAD LINES OF THE PROGRAMS PUT INTO EFFECT BY THE LAST THREE ADMINISTRATIONS, ESPECIALLY THOSE OF THE PRESENT ONE, WITH THE BASIC INTENTION OF ASSURING THE BEST CONTINUITY OF ACTION ALONG THE WIDE AVENUE OF REVOLUTIONARY PROGRESS THAT HAS BEEN SO COURAGEOUSLY OPENED. IT IS MY INTENTION, THEN, TO GO FORWARD, INITIALLY, WITH THE EXECUTION OF THE 1ST NATIONAL DEVELOPMENT PLAN ... WHICH EXTENDS UNTIL 1974. THIS PLAN, IT IS WELL TO RECALL, HAS IN VIEW THE INTEGRATED DEVELOPMENT OF THE NATION, CREATING A MODERN, COMPETITIVE AND DYNAMIC SOCIETY AND UNCLASSIFIED

PAGE 04 BRASIL 06049 01 OF 02 192040Z

PUTTING INTO PRACTICE ECONOMIC, SOCIAL, RACIAL AND POLITICAL DEMOCRACY, IN KEEPING WITH THE BRAZILIAN CHARACTER; ESTABLISHES HIGHLY SIGNIFICANT STRATEGIC GOALS FOR SECTORS (OF THE ECONOMY) ... AND GIVES EXTRAORDINARY IMPULSE TO THE FORCES OF INTEGRATION, WHETHER IN ITS REGIONAL OR ITS SOCIAL DIMENSION. IT POSTULATES THE FULL DISSEMINATION OF THE RESULTS OF PROGRESS, TO ALL CLASSES AND ALL REGIONS; SOCIAL TRANSFORMATION TO MODERNIZE INSTITUTIONS, ACCELERATE GROWTH, IMPROVE THE DISTRIBUTION OF INCOME AND MAINTAIN AN OPEN SOCIETY: POLITICAL STABILITY, TO BRING ABOUT DEVELOPMENT UNDER A DEMOCRATIC SYSTEM; AND NATIONAL SECURITY, BOTH INTERNAL AND EXTERNAL. CRIMMINS

UNCLASSIFIED

PAGE 01 BRASIL 06049 02 OF 02 192046Z

73
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TO SECSTATE WASHDC 9704

UNCLAS SECTION 2 OF 2 BRASILIA 6049

OUR FUTURE ACTIVITY MUST BE TO FOLLOW THE SAME PATH, OBEYING THE SAME PHILISOPHY OF GOVERNMENT, THE SAME STRATEGY OF INTERGRATED DEVELOPMENT AND THE SAME RATIONAL METHODOLOGY, BASING SUCCESS, IN LARGE PART, ON CONTINUITY. IN THE FIRST MONTHS OF THE NEW ADMINISTRATION, THE PROPOSED 2ND NATIONAL DEVELOPMENT PLAN WILL TAKE SHAPE AND WILL BE SUBMITTED TO THE APPROVAL OF THE LEGISLATURE, TO BECOME EFFECTIVE IN 1975. IT WILL SURELY INCLUDE INNOVATIONS DICTATED BY EVENTS AND, ABOVE ALL, MADE POSSIBLE BY EVOLUTION, BY THE GRADUAL ATTAINMENT OF RESULTS WHICH CAN GIVE THE GOVERNMENT NEW OPTIONS.

SUCCESS IN ACCOMPLISHING NATIONAL GOALS, LIKE ANY OTHER SUCCESS, DOES NOT IN ITSELF CAUSE THE FRAGILITY OF NATURALLY PERISHABLE THINGS, BUT INTRINSICALLY CREATES NEW PROBLEMS OR DILEMMAS, SOMETIMES WORSE THAN THOSE THAT WENT BEFORE. AND THE GREATER THE DYNAMISM OF THE PROCESS OF SOCIAL CHANGE, THE MORE ARE NEW PROBLEMS CREATED.

A COUNTRY SUCH AS BRAZIL, WHICH NOW IS LEAPING AHEAD IN ITS POWERFUL AND ACCELERATING DEVELOPMENT, ALREADY HAVING LEFT THE LIST OF UNDERDEVELOPED NATIONS BUT NOT YET HAVING JOINED THE RESTRICTED CIRCLE OF THE MORE AFFLUENT ONES, WILL INEVITABLE ENCOUNTER MISUNDERSTANDINGS AND DIS-TRUST AS UNDESIRABLE BUT UNAVOIDABLE COMPANIONS ON ITS UPWARD MARCH.

A SENSE OF RESPONSIBILITY AS A GREAT ADULT NATION
WHOSE VOICE IS ALREADY MAKING ITSELF HEARD, A SPIRIT OF
UNCLASSIFIED

PAGE 02 BRASIL 06049 02 OF 02 192046Z

HEALTHY COOPERATION OPEN TO THE UNIVERSAL PROBLEMS OF PEACE AND PROGRESS, A CONVICTION OF THE DUTY TO PARTICIPATE ALSO IN MUTUAL AID AMONG PEOPLES, BELIEF IN CONTINENTAL SOLIDARITY WHICH IS BASED ON GEOGRAPHIC IMPERATIVES AND MUST FOLLOW IN TODAY'S PERPLEXED AND RESTLESS WORLD. A WORLD UNDERGOING A CRITICAL REALIGNMENT TOWARD A MULTI-POLAR BALANCE OF FORCES, UNDER THE THREAT OF NUCLEAR TERROR THAT IS STILL BI-POLAR, AND FACING THE ARRIVAL ON ITS STAGE, FORMERLY LIMITED TO NATION-STATES, OF A UNIQUE NEW PROTAGONIST-- THE MULTINATIONAL COMPANY, WHOSE POTENTIAL FOR GOOD, OR PERHAPS FOR EVIL, CANNOT YET BE CLEARLY SEEN. THAT IS WHY SECURITY IS AND WILL BE, PERHAPS ON A

LARGER SCALE, AN ESSENTIAL CONDITION OF THE VERY DEVELOPMENT OF THE NATION, WITH BOTH ELEMENTS--DEVELOPMENT AND SECURITY--GIVING THE FOUNDATION FOR A RESPONSIBLE FOREIGN POLICY. ON THE OTHER HAND, WITHIN OUR FRONTIERS, THE HEAT OF THIS EFFECTIVE PROGRESS, WHICH INFECTS AND STIMULATES EVERYONE, AWAKENS LIVELY EXPECTATIONS WHICH FORMERLY LAY DORMANT IN THE DESPAIR AND STAGNATION OF THE PAST. THEY DOUBTLESS CONSTITUTE POWERFUL LEVERS OF MOTIVATION FOR WORK AND FOR CREATIVITY, BUT, HOWEVER JUST THEY MIGHT IN THEMSELVES BE, THESE EXPECTATIONS NORMALLY FALL WELL OUTSIDE THE LIMITED IMMEDIATE OR SHORT-TERM POSSIBILITIES OF SATISFYING THEM. TO AVERT THEM, CALM THEM, LEAD THEIR VITAL ENERGIES IN A MORE NOBLE AND CONSTRUCTIVE DIRECTION, TO PREVENT THEIR FRAUDULENT EXPLOITATION BY THOSE WHO INTEND TO SUBVERT OUR INSTITUTIONS--THIS WILL ALSO BE AN IMPERATIVE OF THE SECURITY THAT ACCELERATED DEVELOPMENT ITSELF REQUIRES. ...

THE SIGNIFICANT CONSTRUCTION OF THIS FUTURE WILL TAKE PLACE WITHIN THE BOUNDS OF OUR DEMOCRATIC SYSTEM--WHICH, IT IS WORTH POINTING OUT--OBEYS, AMONG OTHERS, THE FUNDAMENTAL RULES: CONSIDERATION OF THE ASPIRATIONS OF THE PEOPLE IN GENERAL, AVOIDING PREDOMINANCE OF THE INTERESTS OF INDIVIDUALS, GROUPS, CLASSES OR REGIONS; REPRESENTATIVE GOVERNMENT, WITH A MULTI-PARTY ORGANIZATION; AND PERIODIC REPLACEMENT OF THE HIGHEST REPRESENTATIVE, THE PRESIDENT OF THE REPUBLIC. SUCH A SYSTEM, HOWEVER, IS SUSCEPTIBLE TO NATURAL DEVELOPMENT RESULTING FROM POSSIBILITIES OR NECESSITIES WHICH ARE CREATED BY SECURITY AND SOCIAL PROGRESS. IN PERFECTING THE SYSTEM, AND THEREFORE ITS PERTINENT STRUCTURES, IT WILL UNCLASSIFIED

PAGE 03 BRASIL 06049 02 OF 02 192046Z

BE NECESSARY TO AVOID MERE FORMALISM, TO PREVENT A RETURN TO THE CONDEMNED PAST AND TO NOT ABDICATE THE POWERS AND PREROGATIVES WHICH HAVE BEEN CONFERRED UPON THE GOVERNMENT AS LONG AS THEY ARE ESSENTIAL TO THE ACCOMPLISHMENT OF THE CONCRETE AND SPECIFIC OBJECTIVES WHICH THE GOVERNMENT MUST PURSUE FOR THE SOCIAL, ECONOMIC AND POLITICAL SECURITY OF THE BRAZILIAN PEOPLE.

CHANGES MUST BE REALISTIC AND TIMELY, WITH PRIVILEGES THAT MUST BE ACCOMPANIED BY EFFECTIVE RESPONSIBILITY, AND MUST CORRESPOND UNARGUABLY TO OUR CHARACTER AND TO THE POLITICAL WILL OF THE NATION, WHOSE PRIMARY INTEREST IS THAT THE CLIMATE OF TRANQUILITY INDISPENSABLE TO THE FULL EFFICIENCY OF ITS ORDERLY AND PRODUCTIVE LABOR NOT BE BROKEN. SUCH CHANGES WILL BASICALLY RESULT FROM PROGRESS IN THE EDUCATION OF OUR PEOPLE AND IN THEIR SOUND POLITICAL MOTIVATION. THE LATTER TASK IS LARGELY DEPENDENT ON THE ACTIVITY OF THE PARTY ORGANIZATIONS.

THE POLITICAL PARTIES -- BOTH GOVERNMENT AND OPPOSITION, EACH WITHIN THE ROLE IT MUST FULFILL--ARE ESSENTIAL TO THE STYLE OF DEMOCRATIC LIFE, AS THE EXCLUSIVE VEHICLES FOR THE PARTICIPATION OF THE PEOPLE IN THE ORGANIZATION OF GOVERN-

MENT, AND AS THE RESPONSIBLE ORGAN FOR THE AUTHENTICITY
OF THE REPRESENTATIVE SYSTEM. IT FALLS TO THEM, BY THEIR
PRINCIPLES AND PROGRAMS, BY THEIR LEADERSHIP AT ALL LEVELS
OF ACTION, BY THEIR UNSWERVING DEDICATION TO THE PUBLIC GOOD,
BY THE CONTINUAL RENOVATION OF VALUES AND OFFERING OF
OPPORTUNITIES, PARTICULARLY TO THE YOUNG, AND BY THEIR
STANDARDS OF POLITICAL DEPARTMENT, TO CONTRIBUTE DECISIVELY
TO THE PERFECTING OF THE NATIONAL POLITICAL STRUCTURE.
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3. GEISEL CONCLUDED WITH A CALL TO THE NATION FOR
COOPERATION WITH HIS GOVERNMENT.

4. EMBASSY ANALYSIS AND COMMENT WILL FOLLOW IN A
SEPARATE MESSAGE. PORTUGUESE TEXT BEING POUCHED TO
ARA/BR.
CRIMMINS

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